Review of the Month

The eyes of the nation turned again to Mississippi, as a County grand jury in Poplarville adjourned without returning indictments in the lynching of Mack Parker. There was an outcry of protest, both South and North, and the U. S. Justice Department re-entered the case.

A Federal grand jury was called for January 4 to consider the case. But the statutes under which the Federal government can act are limited, and there was a growing demand for a Federal anti-lynch law.

In Fayette County, Tenn., the Justice Department filed another action to protect voting rights of Negroes. This case seeks to enjoin local officials from refusing to let Negroes vote; three previous Federal actions—in Alabama, Georgia, and Louisiana—deal only with refusal to register Negroes.

The Atlanta School Board, under court order to submit a desegregation plan, presented a proposal similar to Alabama's pupil placement law. This does not mention race but sets up placement standards on such criteria as psychological qualifications.

The pupil placement principle, latest defense of segregationists, got its first setback in the courts when the U. S. Court of Appeals in New Orleans ruled that Florida's placement law is not adequate to comply with the Supreme Court desegregation decision.

And Mississippi and Florida legislative committees joined similar groups in other states conducting witch hunts against integrationists.

(See page 4.)

Student Democracy In Action

—Photo by Howard Hiner

AL MOYE, (standing), president of the Community Council at West Virginia Wesleyan College, discusses Council work with a group of his fellow-students at his fraternity house. The fraternity is Kappa Sigma Kappa, a national fraternity that is color blind.

(By Staff Correspondent)

BUCKHANNON, W. Va.—To the outsider it might appear a remarkable situation for a border state which was mostly segregated until a decade ago.

But to the students of West Virginia Wesleyan College here, it was just a matter of electing the best man for the job.

He is Al Moye, Negro senior, who this year heads the predominantly white student body at West Virginia Wesleyan as president of the Community Council (equivalent of what is called the Student Council on many campuses).

Moye was elected last spring by the combined popular vote of the students, faculty and administration—the customary procedure for student government elections on this campus. Everyone here agrees he is doing an excellent job.

The *Wesleyan Pharos*, student newspaper, said in a recent editorial:

" . . . We have bestowed on Al the responsibility of keeping Wesleyan a good college as far as the students are concerned . . . In all the turmoil of the world . . . there are still some of us, even in the South, that recognize good people no matter what the race, creed or color.

"The electors chose who they thought was the better man; and they did not stop to look at the color of his skin before they put the check on the ballot beside his name."

Moye is from Washington, D. C., the son of a Methodist minister. He is a chemistry major and holds a research science scholarship.

West Virginia Wesleyan, like all Southern schools, was once a segregated institution. It first admitted Negro students in 1949, and there have been Negroes in every class since that time. This year there are nine colored students on the campus—five American Negroes and four from foreign countries. The total enrollment this year is 1027.

'Decency Died'

"Justice and decency died for a moment in the Poplarville courthouse this week, just as Mack Charles Parker did for an eternity last April . . ."

—The Chattanooga Times, commenting on Mississippi's failure to indict Parker's lynchers.

The Southern PATRIOT

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December, 1959

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Miami Integration

Silence Causes Failure

BY SHIRLEY ZOLOTH

(Mrs. Zoloth is a Miami citizen who has been active in many community efforts toward integration, working with CORE, the American Jewish Congress, and SCEF.)

MIAMI, Fla.—This city's much-publicized "experiment" in school desegregation, at the Orchard Villa Elementary School, was doomed to failure before it started.

The Dade County (Miami) School Board must have known this and, in the opinion of many people, never intended it to work. It must take the blame for the failure—along with that section of the public whose "neutral" silence is bound to have indicated to the Board that an honest effort toward workable integration would have little community support.

The 400-pupil Orchard Villa school opened in September with 18 pupils enrolled—14 white children and four Negroes. A month later the School Board replaced the all-white staff with all Negro teachers and a Negro principal and assigned 379 more Negroes to the school.

Although in November nine white children remained in the school, it was apparent that Orchard Villa was destined soon to be another all-Negro institution. One local newspaper commented that "one phase of Florida's first experience with school desegregation" was now at an end.

But actually any observer could have predicted the outcome long before school opened in September. It was forecast early in 1959 when the then all-white P.T.A. at Orchard Villa graciously voted to give its lovely tea service to a neighboring all-white P.T.A.

For the Orchard Villa School is located in a 1600-block section that is rapidly "changing" from white to all-Negro. Besides Orchard Villa, there are eight elementary schools in this area, three white and five Negro.

Not quite five years ago, 5,000 children lived in the area—about half of them white and half Negro. Today there are 7,428 children, but only 1,622 are white and 5,806 are Negro. The Negro schools have all become badly over-crowded; all of the white schools have empty classrooms.

Before the announcement that Orchard Villa would be a "pilot school" for integration, its enrollment had decreased from 429 in 1957 to 222 in 1958.

Under the masquerade of an "experiment," a school destined to become all-Negro anyway was called "token desegregation."

And by pretending that this was an attempt in good faith to proceed with planned desegregation, the Dade County School Board was actually seeking to

(Continued on Page 2.)

Dual Justice

Despite widespread protests, Florida executed two more Negroes on rape charges in November. They were John Edward Paul and Willie George City.

This brought to three the number of Negroes executed for rape in the state since four white rapists were given only life sentences last summer. (See November Patriot.) One more Negro, Ralph Rudolph Williams, is still awaiting execution, and protests may yet save him.

The NAACP protested the "dual system of justice," and the demand grew among Florida liberals for an abolition of the death penalty.

The Voteless Seek A Voice

BY CHARLES V. HAMILTON

(Ass't Professor of Political Science, Tuskegee Institute)

TUSKEGEE, Ala.—How do you influence public policy in a democracy when you have none of the normal tools—in terms of votes—for doing so?

This is the problem faced by the members of the Tuskegee Civic Association (TCA).

This organization, which for more than 20 years has been working for full citizenship for Negroes in this Black Belt Alabama community, is today leading the current drive for enactment of a law for Federal regulation of registration and voting.

This is as it should be, for the Negro citizens of Tuskegee are among the many victims of Southern registrars' refusal to register Negroes to vote. But for this very reason—because they are deprived of the vote—these citizens must look to the fair-minded voters in the rest of the country for support for this measure.

The case for federal regulation has been well established.

From 1951 through 1958, 1,585 Negroes applied for voter certificates in Macon County (Tuskegee). Only 510 certificates were issued—32 per cent. During the 12½ year period prior to October 1, 1959, Macon County has been without a functioning Board of Registrars for a total period of four years, two months.

In December, 1953, the Board met in the vault of the probate judge's office instead of the regular courthouse meeting place. A

(Continued on Page 4.)

—Photo Courtesy P. H. Polk, Tuskegee Institute

WAYS TO AWAKEN America's conscience to the need for Federal voter-registration are sought by this committee of the Tuskegee Civic Association, which is leading the struggle for such legislation. Committee members are (left to right) C. G. Gomillion (an SCEF board member), Mrs. Charlotte Lewis, C. V. Hamilton, F. J. Toland, and W. P. Mitchell. TCA is pushing H. R. 7957.

Christmas: 1959

When green among strangers but lacking root
My heart declines like a dime-store tree
The poet's tools are both too prim and crude
To carol of Christmas with charity

I yearn for native ground, for Southern soil
Although, Christ knows, for no good reason—
Muck has filled the stockings of hope, and night
Snuffs candles that blazed in former season

But yet, there must be another South
If only in a fond geography
That charts the breath of Bethlehem and hears
A rising wind atone, unite, set free

Let everywhere be home for all, and hearths
Be warm with cindered wrath and songs of birth!

—Alfred Maund

The Southern Patriot

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How It's Done

How a small group of students and teachers at Spelman College worked quietly and purposefully for over two years to bring about integration of the Atlanta public libraries is told in an article in the October issue of Crisis Magazine.

The writer, Howard Zinn, a Spelman professor, says the campaign was conducted by the Spelman Social Science Club whose members felt they could not "live in a region . . . shaken by ideological and political upheaval and yet confine their studies to books."

So in the fall of 1956, members of the club began a systematic campaign of visiting the library and asking for service. They were always refused but the library was made "aware that Negroes were in need of its services," Zinn says.

Gradually other Atlanta groups added pressure and finally in May, 1959, with a lawsuit threatened, the library trustees voted to desegregate. The first Negro to obtain a card was Dr. Irene Dobbs Jackson, Spelman professor and daughter of noted Negro leader John Wesley Dobbs (an SCEF board member).

In Montgomery, a dozen Negro ministers, leaders of the Montgomery Improvement Association, recently took off their clerical garb and formed a "shirt-sleeve platoon" to help in a voter-registration drive. They rang door bells in a house-to-house campaign to seek out potential voters.

Rumor clinics are being used successfully in many newly-integrated neighborhoods, John McDermott of the Federal Housing Authority told a recent institute in Washington. Clinic members find out the facts about ugly rumors and circulate the truth in the neighborhood.

Book Notes

Patriotism: Is It Outmoded?

PRIDE OF STATE, A Study in Patriotism and American National Morality, by JOSEPH P. MORRAY, Beacon Press, Boston, $4.00.

Our readers frequently ask why we use the title *Southern Patriot* and like to refer us to Johnson's cynical estimate of patriotism as "the last refuge of a scoundrel," paraphrased by Arnold Toynbee as "the last infirmity of noble minds."

Such readers, therefore, may be interested in this provocative discussion of the subject of patriotism by one with valid credentials for the job. Mr. Morray is a graduate of Annapolis and of the Harvard Law School. During World War II and in Korea he served in Naval Intelligence.

The author raises some profound questions for which he seeks answers, such as: (1) "Given the shrinkage of distance, the awakening of colonial peoples, the increasing destructiveness of war, is patriotism a dangerous anachronism? Or is it still creative and constructive if adapted to the times?

(2) "Are we forced to make a choice between patriotism and liberal education?"

(3) "Does love of country compel us to deprecate the democracy we thought before to be our special lesson to mankind?"

(4) "Is there a duty to hate in patriotism? Must Christ's message be amended in the American edition to 'Love thine enemy, unless he is a communist?'"

Part I of the book is a psychological analysis of patriotism which Mr. Morray finds to be a mixture of prejudice and reason. On the emotional side patriotism is the horde instinct; on the rational side it is concern for group welfare, with love of neighbor. "Love of one's country is meaningless without love of one's countrymen."

Part II is an application of this enlightened and enlarged view of patriotism to the problems confronting America, foreign and domestic.

You may not agree with some of the author's conclusions but the book will make you do some hard thinking.

• • •

THE RACIAL PROBLEM IN CHRISTIAN PERSPECTIVE, by KYLE HASELDEN, Harper & Brothers, New York, $3.50.

Every person who professes the Christian faith should read this book. The author, a white Southern minister, starts with the thesis that the Christian church in America has not only been guilty of the sin of silence in regard to racial injustice but has itself been one of the main factors fostering the race-caste system.

From there he goes on to a series of searching questions and honest answers. The result is a profoundly challenging book.

A Word About Witch Hunts

The 30-odd persons, including integrationists, now facing jail for defying state and congressional investigating committees will find comfort in Mr. Morray's discussion of the current witch hunt. He compares it to the Spanish Inquisition and says:

"Will they (the committees' victims) obey their conscience? That is what they are called upon to do by the vocation of patriotism. This means they must laugh at the coercive measures in the committee's power, the contempt convictions, economic hardships, social disgrace.

"If they are true patriots they will even make no compromise for the benefit of their family, hard though that must be. We may now again be entering a period, so frequent in the history of states, when a few must serve their country by going to jail for it . . . The next generation will build monuments to those martyrs who earn them now in their time of trial."

Bontemps Named

NASHVILLE, Tenn. — Arna Bontemps, distinguished author and scholar, has become the first Negro to be named to the Public Library Board in this city.

Bontemps is librarian at Fisk University here.

Miami Story . . . .

(Continue from Page 1)

help preserve the constitutionality of the Florida Pupil Assignment Law.

For everyone with foresight knew that unless some Negro children were admitted to some previously white schools this law would eventually be declared unconstitutional. The tendency of the Federal Courts has been to interpret such a move as token desegregation on its face, until such time as it is clearly shown to be mere subterfuge.

Actually, the Dade County Board delayed the decision to admit Negroes to Orchard Villa until it had made a survey of Negro-white real estate transactions in the area.

Four Negro children applied for transfer to the school in September, 1958, and were refused. Their parents then requested a hearing, under the Assignment Law, and this was held. In October, 1958, the board announced it was instituting a study among white parents in the neighborhood to determine whether desegregation was practical.

The results of this survey were announced in November, but the Board again delayed a decision until the real estate survey could be completed. In February, after stalling until the second school semester started, the board announced that the Negroes would be admitted in September, 1959.

The 14 white children who entered the school with them in September did so in spite of strong pressures to stay away. Representatives of the White Citizens Council and the Ku Klux Klan harangued and threatened the white parents as they went to and from the school.

With the shifting of the faculty and the assignment of the additional 379 Negroes in October, the pressures became too much for most of them.

Mrs. Corinne Perrini who had a daughter and two sons in the school had told newsmen in September: "This is the way I want my children to learn about democracy." But after the change-over in October she said she no longer considered Orchard Villa an integrated school and would ask for transfers.

Baldomero Prieto said he was bowing to neighborhood pressure by taking his 10-year-old daughter out of the school.

"All I want to do is live in peace," he said. "The neighbors keep on asking me why I don't send my daughter to a white school, and the other kids bother her and say nasty things to her.

"My daughter brings home the little Negro girls from school to play in her yard. She doesn't know anything about hating other people. But my neighbor who used to have his dog in my yard to play with mine keeps his dog in the house now. He doesn't want his dog in the yard because Negro children are playing with my Leonore. So what can I do. I have to transfer her."

Defenders of the School Board say it can't be held responsible for such reactions as this—that it was not called on to conduct a "social experiment," but only to uphold the law. And the law as interpreted by the Supreme Court, it is pointed out, does not call necessarily for mixing of white and Negro students but merely says that no child can be denied the right to attend the school of his choice because of race.

There is a germ of truth in this defense. If the Orchard Villa failure proves anything, it proves again that the problem of school segregation can never be truly solved until the problem of housing segregation is licked—until open occupancy

(Continued on Page 3.)

'Why I Believe In Integration . . .'

Churchwoman Says Believer Must Also Act

BY MRS. WILLIAM GEHRI

(The author of this article is the widow of an Episcopal minister who lived and worked for many years in Memphis and other Southern communities. She is now a music teacher and church organist in Shepherdstown, W. Va. and is a grandmother of six. She is an SCEF board member.)

I believe in total integration and the right of every child to grow in a climate of dignity and trust.

I have known what it is like to believe that racial separateness was "the-way-the-world-goes" pattern for living. I am not proud of that fact. That was many years ago, and the only value in remembering it is that it gives me confidence that people do change—in their thinking and, most of all, in their feeling.

Somewhere along the line opinions which had been deeply ingrained in my thinking began to change. My husband's participation in activities of interracial concern had brought wider understanding home to me.

Then, new opportunities for breaking through the barriers of segregation presented themselves: a YWCA study group at one period; a committee for an integrated church meeting at another time; and perhaps the most personal, the pleasure of entertaining, with our two daughters, the friends who made life in the rectory a continuous source of interest to us.

However, these opportunities for meeting together did not extend into all phases of life in the city. I could play duets with a young Negro friend in my home —and yet, we could not sit together to ride downtown on a bus, nor could we sit in the same section of an auditorium for a concert.

Mrs. William Gehri

Such discrepancies made us realize that democracy was only partial. There was progress but it was slow and isolated.

That is why the broad, educational and legal aspects of integration are so tremendously important today. It is like having a powerful searchlight to help us see clearly the road ahead; whereas before we had only the small light from our neighbor's porch to show us the way; friendly as that was, it was not enough.

I believe in integration because we are all members of the human race—one family placed here by the Creator whom we are bold to call "Father," and whose love touches us most truly when we discover that love in our brother.

I believe . . . and believing, I want to take whatever action is necessary to help make it a reality.

Noted Californians Supporting SCEF

(By Special Correspondent)

LOS ANGELES, Calif. — A group of distinguished Southern California citizens recently sponsored a reception here to develop support for SCEF in this area.

Guests of honor were Dr. James A. Dombrowski, SCEF executive director, and Bishop Edgar A. Love, of the Baltimore Area of the Methodist Church, an SCEF vice-president. They both spoke on the organization's work in the South.

The reception was held at the home of Actor Sammy Davis, Jr. Joining with Mr. Davis as sponsors of the event were:

Rabbi Julian Feingold, chairman of the Los Angeles Board of Rabbis, and Mrs. Feingold; John Anson Ford, first chairman of California's new FEPC Commission, and Mrs. Ford; Norman O. Houston, president of the Golden Gate Insurance Company, and Mrs. Houston; Bishop Gerald Kennedy, Methodist Bishop for Southern California and Arizona.

Loren Miller, attorney, editor of the California Eagle, and local NAACP board chairman, and Mrs. Miller; Judge Isaac Pacht, retired judge of the Los Angeles Superior Court and past president of the Jewish Community Council, and Mrs. Pacht; Actor Sidney Potier; Actor Robert Ryan and Mrs. Ryan; and Judge David W. Williams, a Municipal Court judge, and Mrs. Williams.

This reception was one of a week-long series of parties and speaking engagements at which Dr. Dombrowski appeared in the Los Angeles area. The series was arranged by Mrs. Reginald Johnson, Pasadena, SCEF coordinator in California.

Bishop Love also spoke on SCEF's work at a meeting at Holliston Avenue Methodist Church, sponsored jointly by the Pasadena District Commission on Christian Social Relations for the Methodist Church, the Altadena-Pasadena Committee on Human Relations, and the Peace and Social Action Committee of the Orange Grove Friends Meeting.

Following the California events, Bishop Love spoke in Phoenix, Arizona, at the chapel of Memorial Hospital. The gathering was coordinated by Emmett McLoughlin, SCEF advisory committee member, and the chairman was William A. Robinson.

News In Brief

Campus Integration Expands

Segregation is receding on the University of Texas campus in Austin, where several hundred Negroes are now enrolled, according to a recent report by Anthony Henry, co-chairman of the University YW-YMCA race relations committee.

Henry's report, publicized in the **Texas Observer**, said Negro students are admitted without discrimination to all University facilities, including cafeterias. Segregation in Memorial Stadium rest rooms was protested by students last year and this year has been ended.

On the negative side, Henry said, all universities dormitories are segregated—in practice if not by official policy. Ironically, the only two really integrated dormitories are privately owned: Christian Faith and Life Community and the YMCA dorm.

* * * *

In Charleston, W. Va., the hotel color line was broken when the Daniel Boone Hotel accepted a Negro delegate to the West Virginia Labor Federation convention. The convention passed a resolution praising the hotel and expressing the hope that other motels and hotels in the area would follow suit.

* * * *

In Asheville, N. C., 27 Negro children brought suit to desegregate the Yancey County schools. These are the children who formerly had to make a daily 80-mile round trip to Asheville to school because there is no school for Negroes in Yancey County. (See November Patriot.) This year they refused to make the trip and are being educated in private classes, pending outcome of the suit.

* * * *

In Georgia, the state convention of Christian Churches voted, with only one dissent, to ask public officials to keep the schools open in the face of the integration crisis.

* * * *

In Savannah, Ga., a group of Negroes called on the School Board and demanded school integration. A Board member asked if they'd be satisfied if facilities were equalized. The Rev. Curtis J. Jackson, delegation spokesman, replied: "We're here to ask you to obey the Supreme Court decision of 1954."

* * * *

The U. S. Supreme Court has been asked to review a lower court ruling upholding Nashville's grade-a-year integration plan. The NAACP contends this is too slow and wants it speeded up.

* * * *

In Little Rock, the church of the Rev. Wesley Pruden, leading segregationist, has been expelled by its parent body, the Pulaski County Baptist Association.

* * *

NAACP Attorney Louis L. Redding (an SCEF board member) has petitioned the U. S. Court of Appeals to reverse a lower court order approving a 12-year integration plan in Delaware. Acting on behalf of a group of shcool children, Redding is asking full and immediate integration.

* * * *

In Coral Gables, Fla., golf courses were quietly integrated recently, and it was several weeks before the matter even came to the attention of the press.

Little Rock Pays

Two years of school turmoil cost the city of Little Rock nearly $6,000,000.

This is the estimate of the Little Rock Women's Emergency Committee to Open Our Schools, in a study released by the Southern Regional Council, Atlanta.

The women's group based its estimate on the loss of new business and job income caused by the school crisis.

Voter Rolls Up In P. E. County

As predicted by Virginia Attorney Hale Thompson in an article in the September Patriot, the abolition of public schools in Prince Edward County, Va., is resulting in a sharp increase in Negro voters in that locality.

The increase has been noted by the daily papers in Richmond. Prince Edward County Registrar J. H. Allen is quoted as saying: "I believe a campaign is definitely on."

Meantime, a Negro has been elected to public office in the County for the first time since Reconstruction days. He is James L. Carter, who won the office of justice of the peace—partly through a mistake.

Carter was a write-in candidate for the county board of supervisors. Many of his supporters wrote his name by mistake in the section of the ballot for the justice of the peace—enough of them so that he won over two opponents.

Ask Job Probe

CHARLESTON, W. Va. — Dr. William J. L. Wallace, president of West Virginia State College and an SCEF board member, and Willard L. Brown, Charleston NAACP president, recently asked that the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights look into discrimination in employment in West Virginia.

They made the request when the Commission's West Virginia Advisory Committee and invited guests met to hear a report on the Commission's work. Both Wallace and Brown said there is evidence of unfair discrimination against Negro coal miners in southern West Virginia in the current era of declining employment there.

.... Silence Brings Failure

(Continued from Page 2.)

policies everywhere remove the pressures that create ghettos.

Nevertheless, there were constructive things the School Board could have done. For one thing, if the Negro applicants had been admitted simultaneously with the announcement of their acceptance at Orchard Villa, there would have been greater chance for success.

At the time of the announcement last February there were still many white children in the school. If the four Negroes had been admitted at that moment, many of the white children and parents might have adjusted quickly to integration and stayed.

Or better still, the announcement and actual admission could have come back in September, 1958, when there were 222 white children enrolled. As it was, the delay from February to September, 1959, provided time for an organized exodus—and many people think the School Board planned it that way.

The good faith of the Dade County School Board, even in applying the letter of the law, remains to be proved. Its only other current "integration experiment" really doesn't count.

This is the Air Force Base Elementary School, where desegregation also started this year. However all but two of its 770 pupils are children of Air Force personnel. Had it not been built with federal aid, it probably would not have been desegregated.

The Board's real test may come in North Miami Beach. Here a group of Negro children have applied for admission to the all-white Fulford Elementary School.

The situation surrounding Fulford is quite different from that at Orchard Villa. Unlike the Orchard Villa area, this community is not in a stage of transition from white to Negro; the Negro population has not grown much in the past three years.

The Board turned down the original applications for transfers to Fulford. The NAACP is seeking to have this ruling reviewed. What the Board does now may indicate whether it intends real compliance with the law or a continued masquerade.

But the public too has a responsibility. Many individuals who are privately committed to the concept that segregation is evil are reluctant to stand squarely on this position in a public way. Statements to the School Board, letters to public officials to newspapers, are conspicuously lacking.

This fearfulness of taking a forthright position on the moral issue may well turn out to be one of the greatest deterrants to desegregation—not only in Miami, but throughout the South.

For the silence does *not* express neutrality or moderation. Instead, it implies consent to the evils of segregation and encourages their perpetuation.

And a tiny handful of frightened bigots make loud hate noises and thus manage either to sound like a large group—or give authorities a looked-for "voice of the people" to defer to.

Somehow it must be made clear to people of good will that, although they perhaps believe that they are simply "minding their own business", what they are really doing is consenting to and aiding in a nightmare of injustice.

—Miami News Photo by Jay Spencer

BEAUTIFUL BUT SADLY TEMPORARY, this much-publicized integrated flag-raising scene at Miami's Orchard Villa School depicted an "experiment in desegregation" that was phoney from the beginning.

State Admits Real Motive For Attack on Highlander

(By Staff Correspondent)

ALTAMONT, Tenn.—Tennessee authorities have finally admitted the real reason for their attack on Highlander Folk School near Monteagle.

Shortly before a hearing began here on the state's petition to revoke the school's charter, the prosecution added the charge that Highlander conducts racially integrated classes. This was alleged to be in violation of state law.

Highlander's fate now depends on a final decision by Circuit Judge C. C. Chattin, possibly in late December or early January. Meantime, a padlock placed on Highlander's main building in September was removed in November.

This was done on motion of District Attorney General A. F. Sloan, who said it had "served its purpose"—apparently the purpose of harassing the school.

A jury decided that the school had been operated for the benefit of Myles Horton, the director, and that its charter should be revoked on that ground. Judge Chattin gave attorneys 40 days to file briefs on this before he makes a decision. He will also pass on the question of whether integration at the school is in violation of the law.

The school remains in operation and the staff proceeded with work on its winter program.

First Amendment Test

Florida Ministers Face Jail

(By Staff Correspondent)

TALLAHASSEE, Fla. — Three Negro ministers, leaders of the Florida NAACP, are facing the threat of jail because they are refusing to cooperate with a state legislative committee that is demanding to check NAACP membership lists.

The ministers are standing on their rights under the First Amendment to the U. S. Constitution.

They are: The Rev. Theodore R. Gibson, rector of Christ Episcopal Church, Miami, and president of the Miami NAACP; the

Rev. Edward T. Graham
"Bill of Rights must prevail . . ."

Rev. Edward T. Graham, past-president of the Miami NAACP and pastor of Mt. Zion Baptist Church; and the Rev. A. Leon Lowry, Tampa, state NAACP president.

The witch hunt against the Florida NAACP began in 1957 shortly after the beginning of the Little Rock crisis. Miami officers of the organization were called before the Florida Legislative Investigating Committee, then known as the Johns Committee for Rep. Charley Johns who headed it, and now called the Herrell Committee.

Witnesses were asked for NAACP membership lists. The committee claimed it wanted them to see if they contained the names of some 50 people who had supposedly been named as Communists. (This list, like McCarthy's, has gradually shrunk over the years and is now reported to contain just 14 names.)

NAACP officers refused to cooperate and sued in court for injunctions to stop the committee inquiry. They finally lost last spring when the U. S. Supreme Court refused to review a Florida Supreme Court ruling that the Herrell-Johns Committee had a right to check the list.

The checking would be done by having an NAACP official look through the list to see if names of alleged communists were there. The committee would not actually see the list.

But the Herrell-Johns Committee did nothing further until early November, 1959, when it hurriedly called a new hearing just a few days after the NAACP renewed its struggle to open Miami parks and swimming pools to Negroes—a timing noted by the Miami News. Gibson, Graham, Lowry and others were called to testify and bring the lists.

Mr. Gibson refused to produce the lists and told the committee: "Whom I associate with is none of your business; that is my business—that is a right inherent in the U. S. Constitution." Mr. Graham refused to even say whether he was an NAACP member.

Mr. Lowry showed up the first day of the hearing but left before the second day and before he was called to testify. He told the committee he had important church business to see about and could not wait around two days to be called to the stand.

The committee voted to cite Mr. Graham and Mr. Gibson for contempt which means they will be taken before a circuit judge and if they still refuse to testify will be jailed. In the case of Mr. Lowry, the committee voted to ask the Legislature when it is next in session to jail him for contempt.

Mr. Gibson said: "The committee contends that the reason they are investigating the NAACP is to determine the extent it has been infiltrated with Communists. That is potwash! We are standing squarely on our right of association as guaranteed by the U. S. Constitution, specifically the First Amendment. If I go to prison for this, I'll take my Bible along and perhaps I'll come out with a couple of sermons I wouldn't have had otherwise."

Mr. Graham said: "We are hoping we can re-establish once for all that rights guaranteed in the Bill of Rights still prevail—the rights of association, free speech, petition and assembly. I believe we are doing what will benefit those who come after us. That is more important than any approval or disapproval that may come to me now."

Mr. Lowry said: "The whole question in Florida is the right of association. We don't have any right to go around asking people what they belong to before they can join NAACP.

"We have a right to associate with whomever we wish. It is not within the power of the Legislature to deny any citizens that right. There is no attempt on our part to flout any duly constituted legislative committee. We are merely attempting to exercise our freedom.

"It is quite apparent that the committee's action is an attempt to intimidate and to label an organization, and to weaken it. This year we have been pressing for our rights in almost every area and that is why they are after us."

The Florida Civil Liberties Union and SCEF are among organizations supporting the ministers in their stand.

All three NAACP leaders are cooperating with the Committee of First Amendment Defendants, a national organization of persons facing jail in defense of the First Amendment.

Rev. Theodore R. Gibson
"None of your business . . ."

Integrationist Wins

(By Staff Correspondent)

CINCINNATI, Ohio — The Rev. Maurice F. McCrackin has apparently won in his effort to continue his work as pastor of the integrated West Cincinnati-St. Barnabas Church in this border city.

An administrative commission appointed by the Presbytery of Cincinnati to investigate the affairs of the church issued a report supporting Mr. McCrackin and finding no reason for his removal as pastor.

The church serves a combined Presbyterian and Episcopalian congregation. The Presbytery has been under heavy pressure from Cincinnati reactionaries to get rid of Mr. McCrackin.

The immediate issue was the refusal of Mr. McCrackin, who is a pacifist, to pay taxes, because of their use for war preparations. He spent 5½ months in prison because of this.

However, much of the animus against Mr. McCrackin in this city stems from his long and dedicated work for integration. The latest attacks on him started after it was publicized that he attended the 25th anniversary celebration of integrated Highlander Folk School in Tennessee in September, 1957.

Many Cincinnati ministers, rabbis, and other citizens came to Mr. McCrackin's defense. The Presbytery commission said it had found that only two members had left the church because of dislike of the pastor's position.

On the tax question, the commission stated: "It is not a function of Presbytery to collect taxes and we find that the West Cincinnati-St. Barnabas Church and its pastor are bearing a strong witness to Jesus Christ and His Gospel."

Maurice F. McCrackin

The Florida Council of Churches came to the support of Miami City Manager Ira Willard when he acted to desegregate that city's parks and swimming pools recently. Willard's action was immediately reversed by the Miami City Commission.

New Question

"Do I want my daughter to marry a segregationist? Curiously no one has ever challenged me with that question—though it is a sensible one and is harder to answer than some questions that get thrown around more frequently. The question is difficult because I seriously doubt the wisdom of intermarriage between segregationists and integrationists. However, I oppose legislation forbidding such intermarriages."

—Roger L. Shinn in Christianity and Crisis

Tuskegee Voteless Ask Voice

(Continued from Page 1.)

fair-complexioned Negro, who was mistaken for a white person, had to locate the Board so other Negroes might make application.

From December 10, 1958, until November of this year, there has been no Board of Registrars in Macon County at all. The old Board resigned one day after the Civil Rights Commission held its hearings in Montgomery.

Since Gov. John Patterson took office in January, 1959, the TCA has sent weekly petitions to him requesting the appointment of a Board of Registrars for the County. As of mid-October, 456 Macon County Negroes had petitioned. The Governor has not responded to any of these communications.

In July, he appointed three white citizens to the Board but they declined to serve. The Governor had indicated earlier that it would be difficult to find qualified personnel because of the "snooping and meddling," as he put it, of Federal commissioners.

(*Editor's Note: At Patriot presstime, when appointments were being made in other parts of Alabama, three more white citizens were named to serve in Macon County. But there was no assurance they would accept or, if they did, how long they would serve.*)

Macon County is 85 per cent Negro. Six Negro citizens have written the Governor indicating their willingness to serve on the three-man board. But the Governor has not seen fit to appoint Negroes to serve.

After six months of fruitless efforts, the TCA decided to take its case to the national Congress.

On June 16, 1959, at a mass meeting of the TCA signatures of 2,000 citizens were displayed, petitioning the Congress to pass a Federal law regulating voter registration. A proposed bill was drawn up by TCA and sent to about 40 senators and representatives. On June 24, Rep. Adam Clayton Powell introduced H. R. 7957 into the House of Representatives, based on the TCA proposal.

In August, the Civil Rights Commission underscored the voting denial problem by recommending in its report a form of federal regulation of voters registration.

H. R. 7957 provides for the establishment of a Federal Voter Registration Commission. The Commission could register citizens for the purpose of voting in Federal elections where the local registration machinery has been inoperative for a period of 6[illegible] days. It would do this under Article I, Section 4, of the U. S. Constitution which empowers Congress to regulate Federal elections.

The Commission would also be empowered to make investigations of alleged voting denials and, where it finds a violation of the 15th Amendment, it could proceed to register persons to vote in both local and national elections. The action of the Commission would be subject to review by the Federal Courts.

This new plan will come before the next session of Congress. It promises to be even more dynamic in its national impact than proposed fair employment legislation in the 1940's.

The success of the disfranchised in securing passage of this measure depends on organized effort from the grass roots among those who *can* vote throughout the country. Petitions, letters, postcards, political pressure of all kinds must bombard Capitol Hill.

Are You Guilty?

One major reason why the last session of Congress passed no civil rights bill and why the next may not either was pinpointed recently by Sen. Joseph S. Clark, Jr., of Pennsylvania.

Speaking to an NAACP meeting, he said:

"What is lacking is public demand for action, similar to that which led to the Civil Rights Act of 1957 and the Labor Reform Act of this year. Although I need no convincing, I doubt if I have received 100 letters on the subject of civil rights since January, compared to 12,000 letters concerning labor reform."

Have YOU written YOUR senators and congressman?

As Our Grandchildren See Us

So live that your grandchildren will say this about you. That might be the moral of this story.

Cathy Hupp

West Virginia Wesleyan College recently presented the Porgy and Bess Singers in Musical Highlights as the opening program of its annual Cultural Enrichment Series. This program by a trio of talented Negro artists was attended by Cathy Hupp, seven-year-old granddaughter of Dr. James L. Hupp, chairman of the Education Department at Wesleyan and SCEF secretary.

After a few numbers Cathy, obviously enjoying the vivacity of the entertainers, observed that one of them was colored.

"Yes," replied her aunt who was with her. "They are all colored."

There was a period of silence, during which Cathy apparently verified and absorbed this information to her satisfaction. Then she said: "Grandpa ought to be here."